2: Marra E-4 (no date) 1976 SD6 Cayapa SD6

Death.—Death is not considered to be a natural phenomenon but is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body. A dead man's soul hovers around his house, which is usually abandoned, though it may be dismantled and sold. The corpse is buried in a coffin in a Catholic-style cemetery near the church. The dead man's possessions are usually given away, but it is not known who inherits his fields and clearings.

ARTISTIC AND SUPERNATURAL ASPECTS

Art.—The great range of designs used by the Cayapa in their face and body painting has already been mentioned. There is a similar variety in the geometric figures used to ornament their canoes. There are no design names, nor is there any apparent significance in their variation. Animals are sometimes painted on canoes destined for the market, but only geometric designs satisfy the native consumer.

Textile decoration, particularly on women's skirts, differs from canoe and body painting in its emphasis on realistic motifs. Men, mammals, reptiles, birds, fishes, and parts thereof are frequently woven into the cloth. Interestingly enough, in both design and execution this ornamentation resembles very closely the decoration used by Highland Indians on their belts (*bijas*).

Calabash dishes frequently have an incised design below the rim.

Canoe paddles and wooden oars are sometimes ornamented with carved images, and children usually play with carved wooden dolls.

Music and dancing.—Holidays, weddings, and other feasts are accompanied by much dancing and drinking. As elsewhere along the coast, the European marimba is widely used, as are panpipes, flutes, drums, and rattles. In recent years the Highland *San Juan* dance has been gaining in popularity. Also of immediate Highland provenience may be the small European wooden harp with palm-fiber strings.

Toys.—Children's activities are usually imitative of adult pursuits. Complete sets of diminutive artifacts are made for the children. Blowguns are given the boys. Only dolls and tops seem to be specifically children's toys.

Alcoholic beverages.—There is no evidence of the use of narcotics. *Guarapo*, the fermented juice of sugarcane, and rum, its distilled by-product, are both made and liberally drunk by the people at appropriate occasions.

RELIGION

Native Cayapa religion has blended with many Roman Catholic practices. Baptism, marriage, and political office must be confirmed by the priest. Masses are said for the souls of the dead, and Easter and Christmas are celebrated whenever the priest happens to visit the community.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

But the soul is believed to linger after death, and the methods used to encourage its departure are strictly aboriginal. A young couple's marriage may not be consummated until solemnized by the visiting padre, but the admonitions of the village chief to both bride and groom reinforce the authority of native jurisdiction. The annual Easter whipping of the whole community is also native.

Barrett could find no clear-cut creation story. The universe is believed to be made up of three superimposed worlds, with human life centered on the middle one. Men share this middle world with many spirits, some malevolent and other benevolent, all of whom are busy affecting human happiness and goals.

Sometimes the spirits must be exorcised, as when they cause illness. For this a shaman is called, and, with the cooperation of neighbors, he drives out the spirits amid much singing, smoking, and sprinkling. The shaman also may suck out the cause of illness.

Almost anyone can become a shaman by undergoing intensive training and acquiring a set of spirit helpers. There seems to be no "predestination" for this career, though Barrett was apparently unable to get enough information on this point. Like the chief, the shaman is not a full-time professional.

Because of his magic control of spirit powers, the shaman can be a force for evil as well as for good. It is he who causes illness and eventually death. There is a great deal of similarity between the behavior and the paraphernalia of the *Cayapa* shaman and that of the Highland medicine man.

THE COLORADO

The *Colorado*, or, as they prefer to call themselves, *Tsatchela* or *Tsachila* Indians, share with the *Cayapa* the distinction of being the last surviving aboriginal group in the Lowlands of western Ecuador. The two groups know about each other and even occasionally visit back and forth; but they speak mutually unintelligible languages, and their ways of life are quite distinct.

In contrast to the *Cayapa*, the *Colorado* are rapidly disappearing. Their territory and their numbers have been shrinking constantly, and one can easily foresee the time when the group will become extinct. They have not been able to withdraw before the pressure of "civilization," and they have been incorporated to a large degree into the Highland plantation system known as concertaje. The area they occupy on the upper reaches of several affluents of the Esmeraldas and Daule Rivers in the western part of Pichincha Province has been an area of heavy colonization in recent decades. During World War II an all-weather road was opened which increased the area's accessibility to colonization from the Highlands.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

586 in which, in order to escape the wrath of public opinion
684 and castigation by the officials, offenders against the divorce laws have left the Cayapa country entirely and taken up their abode in Colombia or in the interior
582 of Ecuador. The same applies to the laws relating to
684 marriage between near relatives. The evasion or the open violation of either the laws of divorce or those governing consanguineal marriage are, however, of such rare occurrence that the laws may be said to operate almost perfectly, and they, together with the laws requiring chastity and fidelity in both sexes, certainly produce a salutary moral effect on the community. In fact, it is most exceptional to find a tribe or a community of the size of the Cayapa in which the ethical standards are so high and so strictly observed.

DEATH

761 As was stated in speaking of medicine practices, death
753 is ordinarily attributed to the presence of malevolent
776 spirits in the body, whither they find their way by various means. For instance, they may be placed by some
[759] malicious shaman in the soul of the individual as it wanders about during sleep, or they may enter directly into the body as one passes some particular spot believed to be infested with these malicious, disease-breeding spirits.

774 There seems to be a difference of opinion as to the
775 soul. One informant maintained that there are numer-
177 ous souls, each residing in a different part of the body; that the one in the chest is the largest and most im-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

portant and the one which ascends to the sky after death, there to receive its proper reward or punishment. This latter notion, however, appears to have been derived from modern religious ideas. The various souls residing in other parts of the body were said by this informant to live in and about the house of the deceased until such time as they are driven out. Most informants, on the other hand, maintain that the body has but a single soul, which lives in and about the house of the deceased until driven out to the ocean or into the mountains by a shaman, there to reside eternally. Having once been thus expelled, the soul is never again seen about the house, but it may return to the cemetery or to other parts of the region. It is said to do no special harm to the living after having been driven away, but will cause the death of other members of the family if allowed to remain unmolested about the house.

On the death of an individual the body is dressed in his best clothing and wrapped carefully in mantas or other available cloth; it is then placed in a wooden box made after the fashion of a coffin, or if the wood is not at hand a kind of coffin is made of bamboo.

If death occurs very early in the morning, the corpse may be interred the same day; usually, however, it is kept until the following day. Meantime the relatives and friends living within comparatively easy reach are notified. All who are able, journey to the cemetery, which is but a short distance from the village, and there a Catholic funeral service is held over the remains, after which they are buried in a shallow grave.

Before leaving the house with the body, the relatives

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

to be resident in the house or in the surrounding ground 755
are expelled in the manner described.

Similarly after death, since the soul of the departed is believed to return to the house and may cause illness or even death of other members of the family, shamans are called in and the particular soul expelled.

Such a soul is not simply driven into the jungle, but 755
ordinarily is driven into the ocean. It goes to one of two 775
places: to the island of Gorgona off the southern coast of Colombia, or to a large mythical sandbar far out at sea. Sometimes souls are driven only down to the sand beaches along the ocean near the mouth of the river, or in some instances to some secluded and lonely spot far in the mountains. In any event the services of one or more shamans must be enlisted within a month or so after the death of a person in order that his returning soul shall not bring illness and perhaps death to any of the surviving members of the household.

In speaking of souls and spirits it must be borne in 774
mind that as these two terms are here used they are not 776
identical in Cayapa conception. Every animate being 774
has a soul or shade which is a definite part of itself and without which life is impossible. This soul lives on after death. It has the form of the body it occupies, and has the power of leaving the body and wandering about when the body sleeps or is otherwise unconscious, and in this particular resembles a spirit. A true spirit, 776
on the other hand, is a supernatural entity which resides in an object, animate or inanimate, or in a particular spot, but which has nothing to do with the existence of that object. It may take the form of the object it inhabits, especially if the object is animate; but fre-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The three worlds of the Cayapa are each flat, approximately square, and of about equal size. A short distance beyond the openings through which the sun and moon emerge and depart from it, are the eastern and western edges of our middle world. There are also a northern and a southern edge to the world. Beyond these edges there is nothing. 772

The upper world, ka'ica, is similar to our middle world, but it lacks rivers, the sea, and indeed any body of water. Furthermore, it never rains there. It is illuminated constantly by another sun, which is stationary. Ideas concerning the inhabitants of the upper world are not very clear. It is known that they have houses, but these are of a different form from the Cayapa dwellings, being described as somewhat like the houses built by the white people in the settlements at the mouth of the Rio Cayapas, which means that they are not set high upon piles and that they have sides (pl. CCCX-CCCXI). By some it is claimed that the souls of departed human beings reside in this upper world, but most say that they reside at certain out-of-the-way places on the earth. It is said that this upper world is inhabited by spirits, but their exact nature is not clearly understood. [775]

Creation

The Cayapa appear to have no native account of the creation of the universe, at least all attempts to obtain such were futile, and there appears to be only a remnant of an account of the creation of human beings, and this is more or less mixed with introduced religious con- 773 177

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

753 their symptoms from fevers resulting from drinking water in a new region. This alludes to the fact that in [164] this region it almost invariably happens, even with people in perfect health, that if they travel from the coast into the interior mountains, or vice versa, they become ill for a short time with a fever of greater or lesser gravity. This is attributed directly to the change of drinking water, though in the Cayapa mind there is here also a direct connection with spirits.

754 A still greater danger to the soul as it travels about during sleep arises when a shaman sets a trap or a dead-
• 775 fall at any point he thinks a soul is likely to pass. If the soul gets into this trap or deadfall, it is killed, so to speak, and its owner never awakens. The soul itself, being immortal, later escapes from the trap or deadfall and passes on with its future existence, but once the life has left the body which it formerly inhabited, the soul is never able to return to it.

775 After death, souls travel about as they do in sleep, frequenting for a time special burial places and the homes which their bodies formerly inhabited. They would, if unmolested, continue indefinitely to go about their former haunts, but, owing to the danger to the living from their presence, means are taken to expel them. The expulsion of these souls, as also of malevolent spirits, by one or more shamans has been described in detail in speaking of medicine practices.

774 By many it is claimed that certain mammals, birds, reptiles, and other animate objects do not possess souls, but by others it is claimed that every animate object has a soul. Inanimate objects, such as waterworn

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Inanimate objects, such as waterworn pebbles, fragments of ancient pottery, ancient stone implements, and practically all hard objects of unusual form, are the abodes of spirits, but have not souls like those of animate objects. The souls of other animate objects may travel about during sleep and unconsciousness, just as do the souls of human beings. The spirits resident in inanimate objects, which of course do not sleep, travel only at night. As a matter of fact the souls of animate objects also travel almost exclusively at night, since, with but few exceptions, these animals sleep at that time. The souls of animate objects and the spirits resident in inanimate objects seem to be endowed with about the same attributes, and they mingle on friendly terms, assembling in various places to dance together, visiting burial places together, and in general making common cause in their wanderings and associations.

What seems to be an intrusive idea from Catholic sources is that human souls ascend at death to the upper world, but ideas concerning this abode and the ascension of souls are largely indefinite. However, it is maintained by some who hold rather vaguely to these concepts that God keeps there a long ladder which, when the person is about to die, he drops down in order that the soul may ascend. But the majority of the Cayapa, and even those who claim to believe in this ascent to the upper world, avoid burial places at night and have the souls of departed friends and relatives expelled by shamans from their houses and driven out to the ocean in the old orthodox Cayapa manner.

by a new sibling. Weaning is gradual; however, the child is also told that an animal will come to eat him if he continues to suck which frightens him and hastens his loss of interest in the breast. From about the age of four months he is given supplementary foods and by the age of three years he eats everything. Women who are unable to nurse apply a poultice to their breasts. This poultice is made of lechera, a weed with a milky sap; this is done in the vain hope of stimulating lactation. The neighboring Negro women wean their infants at one year, and when opportunity affords, they chide the Cayapa women about their protracted nursing. This is beginning to have some effect, and a few women now wean their children by one year.

When a woman dies in childbirth, the child may be given to another woman who is lactating. Some feel that "the child dies anyway as the spirit of the dead mother will kill it." On the other hand, the infant can be taken directly to the ceremonial center where earth from the mother's grave is thrown at it at the time of her burial. If this ritual is practiced, two men stand on opposite sides of the grave passing the infant back and forth five or six times. This, it is

said, insures that the infant will live. Following this procedure, the neonate is transferred to the care of a lactating woman. This mother surrogate is paid for her services by the child's father. Eventually, when the child can speak, he is returned to his father.

Birth Control. Induced abortions are unknown, according to all informants, and this information is very likely reliable because bastards /ʔiwi-/ are first delivered, and then are usually killed. Similarly, there does not seem to be any knowledge of birth control devices nor of the practice of coitus interruptus. In marked contrast to the degrees of the area whose children line up like stepping-stones, there is often a two- to four-year break between living children for the Cayapa. In some cases this difference is accounted for by the high infant mortality rates in other cases, it is explained by lower fertility; in still other cases the lower sex drive may be the causative factor. We shall discuss the latter premise in the chapter dealing with personality factors. In any event, the Cayapa recognize their weakness in numbers

and say that it is because Jesus said that if the world comes to an end while many Cayuga are living, it would be very sad for them: it is therefore necessary for many infants to die. The population figures do indeed indicate that the Cayuga are not reproducing. For the Six Tomorrows there is an average of 2.3 living children for each woman of childbearing age and almost 17 per cent sterility among the women.-

Adoption. Children will be adopted within the kindred, if the parents should die, but there is seldom adoption of non-related children or of illegitimate children. There are a few instances of an illegitimate child's being kept by the mother, but more often she will kill it at birth. The mother may offer the child for adoption, but the general feeling is that such a child having been conceived in sin is non-Christian, and few people want such a child. The Christian thing to do, they feel, is to kill it.

There is something in the nature of short-term "loans" of children. A child is sometimes sent to live with an "uncle" or other near relative for varying periods of time. In some cases the relatives are

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the father may buy a meal and some drinks for everyone. The compadres now address each other by the same terms used between compadres in the nail-cutting ceremony. When the child grows up, he calls his god-father by the term /padéna?ápa/ and the god-mother by the term, /padéna?áma/, and the reciprocal is /ihádu/ [illegible], from Spanish padrino 'god-father,' áma 'mother' ápa 'father']. Incest taboos, if not present before, are now extended, and the /ihádu/ may not marry any of the children of the god-parents. The relationship is marked by respect from all within it. From time to time as conditions seem to warrant it, the parties to the compadrazgo of the baptism gift each other with meat. Within a family each child will usually have a different set of god-parents from his siblings. This is a reinforcement of previously existing kin ties with a multiplicity of horizontally-extended ritual kin.

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Marriage. The Cayapa say that when one goes to heaven all of the souls there look alike. Everyone is the same height, and they all wear identical clothing. It is impossible to recognize the people

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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known to one while living; however, there is one exception, this one being that one's /padénaʔápa/, the god-father of the wedding, who sees the newly arrived soul and calls its name. In heaven one is re-united with the god-father and not the father. This story indicates that the major relationship that is set up is between the bridal couple and the padrinos and not between compadres. The marriage padrinos tend to be of the same generation as the bridal couple, and the feeling is that it is best to select padrinos from within the kindred. Padrinos are always man and wife, so that if one wishes a particular individual to be his padrino, then his wife automatically becomes his padrina. If incest taboos did not apply before, they are now extended, and the children of all of the ritual-kin are forbidden to marry each other.

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Except for remarriage, when it is permissible to choose new padrinos for the new marriage, it would appear that the ties of the marriage compadrazgo could not multiply "to meet the accelerated rate of change." I have the slightest suggestion of evidence that indicates that this may very well be happening. I was

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The Cayapa are not theologians, nor are they knowledgeable about Catholic ritual. They recognize this lack, but do not concern themselves over it. They rely for ritual guidance on the priest, and in his absence their Negro neighbors are ever ready to take his place as religious mentors to the Cayapa. The Cayapa recognize that the Negro has greater understanding of the religion, but they also consider that the Negroes are great sinners, while the Cayapa are held to be very moral. For the Cayapa, religion is morality and morality means proper sexual behavior. That the Negroes seldom, if ever, marry is a constant source of scandal for the Cayapa, and that the Cayapa almost always marry in the Church [a few polygynists to the contrary] is a constant source of envy for the Negro women, who feel great personal insecurity in their free unions. The trouble with the world, say the Cayapa, is that there are many sinners in it--people who commit incest, adultery, and take more than one wife. As most Cayapa are moral, they will go to heaven, but Negroes and Whites, who are notorious sinners, will not. After death Negroes will go to the black clouds and

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whites will go to the white clouds, forever floating between heaven and earth. While the Cayapa believe that they are a moral people, probably everyone has sinned a little and so after death every Cayapa soul is scourged in hell. Periodically the soul is weighed and when the scale tips in favor of the soul over its sins, it goes to heaven.

The matter of sin and sex so concern the Cayapa that when they were presented by the first missionaries with the account of Adam and Eve, they transformed it by saying that in the beginning Jesus created two men and two women. The women were not created from the ribs or any other part of the men's bodies, and so, everyone was properly unrelated. From these four beings sprang the human race.

At irregular intervals, a priest comes up from Limones for Christmas or Easter. He holds a brief service, consecrates marriages, and baptises children. The Cayapa are very much taken with Catholic imagery and the use of candles. As the writer once watched the priest perform a marriage at Punta Venado, there was a brief contest of wills. The Cayapa wedding party had

the *big fierecones* in the *sands*. People are afraid of him, because he can kill a person by catching his spirit. *Duende* is the owner of all of the wild pigs, as well as the /kuhii^{9}a/, a race of cave dwellers who are similar to the Cayapa in appearance. The second, /a^{9}dzéri/, is the devil who plays all of the musical instruments at the same time. Some think that he just touches himself to produce the sounds. He is naked, and black like a Negro, and has a very large penis with which he kills women when he makes love to them. These beings are not really a part of the religious belief system, but other spirits are.

The Cayapa believe that people have three souls: /tambiku/ "heart," /kimu/ "soul" and /kúia cic^{9}u dumu/ "bold ghost." At death, the /tambiku/ leaves the body by way of the mouth and goes straight up to Jesus, who has it punished. The manner of punishment is not clear, but it goes on for a very long time. Finally, the soul enters heaven. There are no clear ideas expressed regarding the nature of heaven, but many Cayapa think in terms of a big *fiesta*. The /kimu/ leaves the body at death in an unknown manner and wanders about the

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evening. It may kill people whom it encounters alone. The third soul, the bald ghost is dressed in white and remains by the grave. "In the old days, it would fight with its enemies, but nowadays this does not happen." The /kíme/ has the form of the body it inhabits, and it has the power of leaving the body during sleep, and of compelling others to kill. In their travels, the souls visit many places, such as cemeteries, houses of friends, and distant places. At these times the soul is in danger of being harmed by witchcraft: if the /kíme/ is prevented from returning to its body, that person must die.

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In common with much of the Catholic world, the Cayapa believe that a deceased infant has not had a chance to sin and so goes directly to heaven as an angel; however, if the child had been conceived in sin, then they maintain that it is an abomination, and non-Christian. In this case they feel that the Christian thing to do is to bill the neonate, but the status of the soul of the infant is not clear. On the question of the immediate transit to heaven of the infant's soul, the Negroes are the authorities for the Cayapa. As an instance, the wife of Pablo Canalehu of Encanto, died

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in childbirth, and the infant was born dead. No one discussed the condition of the infant's soul at all, until a group of Negroes came to express their condolences. They remarked among themselves that the infant was probably in purgatory because it had not been baptised. They spoke in this vein for about ten minutes until Doña Carolina, who is half Cayapa and married to the founder of the village of Concepcion, noticed that the Indians were becoming disturbed at the trend that the conversation was taking, and she said that of course, since the child was only recently dead, it perhaps was not too late, and she took some water from a gourd and sprinkled it on the tiny body. There was a brief flurry of conversation among the Negroes, and the remark was made that "very likely the infant was in heaven now." At this, the Indians visibly relaxed.

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Funeral customs. Death is not a stranger to the Cayapa, and everyone can reasonably expect to attend at least two or three funerals during a year. The greatest number of deaths are of infants. In other age groups there are violent deaths such as men drowning, breaking their necks in falls, and being poisoned

by snakes and also by design. Women frequently die in childbirth; tuberculosis runs rampant, and periodically whooping cough and measles decimate the population. People die from spirit possession, soul loss, witchcraft, illness, and accidents; however, very old people "just die." People are afraid of death although it is maintained that no one dies because of his sins. Punishment takes place after death, and everyone must be purified of his sins by punishment after his demise. It is believed that when the Whites die their souls go to the white clouds while those of the Negroes go to the black clouds. Only the Cayapa may enter heaven.

When death strikes, all relatives within a few hours' travel are notified. The immediate family clean the body, if necessary, and place it on a mat. Water is boiled and then poured over the area where the body lay last. Two or three men of the neighborhood are asked to prepare a coffin; this coffin which is made of bamboo is said to be the "canoe of the soul" and is called /čhkuyǫ́le/. Its construction involves four or five hours' work, and when it is completed, the parent or spouse of the deceased offers

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about five or six o'clock. Prior to the velorio, or wake, the people who are not in mourning /pamila/ bathe and don their make-up and fancy clothing. During this procedure the children cave about noisily. While waiting for the proper time to make their entrance, people like to remain in large groups "because the spirit of the deceased is wandering about and may kill anyone who is alone."

In the meantime at the funeral site, a raft has been built to transport the remains to the ceremonial center, and musical instruments have been placed together off at one side of the house. The coffin has been placed near one of the sides of the house, and candles are placed at the head and foot. If the deceased was a man, his oar is broken and placed in the coffin with him. The mouth of the corpse is carefully covered with a piece of colored cloth, and the eyes are closed. Members of the family mourn at the head of the coffin, either singly or in pairs. They mourn in a stereotyped manner, chanting in Cayapa appropriate phrases like "Who will support the family now?" "Who will bring home the food?" "I am all alone

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the participants begin to hit each other's hand with great force as they pass the domino along the circle. Finally, the sport ends, and the plantain money is handed over to the "owner" of the deceased who accepts it in exchange for some bottles of rum. The /gbódo ìdí/ is then placed in the coffin, and it is said that it becomes "transformed into real money in heaven."

Another activity often indulged in is called /ńlìgbagbélí hámu/ "the game of linking arms." It is as follows: People form a circle by locking hands tightly and then look arms for a few seconds. This is followed by the participants grasping each other's crossed arms. Following this they line up for a "tug of war" with the man in the middle bearing the brunt of the opposing sides.

In the contest called /ńkéhra hámu/ [no gloss], a cloth is twisted and used as a whip. The players form a circle as they face inward. The cloth is placed on the neck of one of the men. As this is done, the recipient of the cloth grabs it and runs after the man who placed it on his neck and hits him with the cloth. The one who was hit rejoins the circle, and the second

considered to be gambling. Nevertheless, everyone enjoys them. Even the mourners come over to watch when they are not waiting at the coffin.

It is important that life and gaiety go on, and, for this reason, people struggle not to fall asleep. If the noise, laughter, and music were to cease, the soul of the deceased "would exert vengeance." Finally, about four o'clock in the morning a silence falls over the assembled mourners and celebrants: it is the time of the /kuúlus bámu/, the last farewell. Everyone stands, and one man known to have a good voice sings out in a Spanish-Cayapa mixture: "mamay yo se fué muluta peye llegue muluta taiel[illegible]." At this, all of the assembled men except for the "owners" of the deceased sing the same phrase in unison. Now the coffin is carried down to the raft for the trip to the ceremonial center. But everyone goes to the burial; some family members remain behind to take care of the children if there are, and others may be too drunk to make the trip. Three or four people are generally all that go to the cemetery.

Adults and children are buried in a cemetery

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this incident and asked that his mother be punished. Both the young man and the widow however, suspected that they would be punished, and did not go down to the fiesta. The /ʔaʔi/ sent up a commission composed of one Indian and two Negroes who were ordered to apprehend them. Augustín paid the Negroes twenty sucres each and bought a few bottles of rum for the Cayapa.

The couple were brought before Arcilio and punishment was set at ninety lashes each. In addition, the woman was fined fifteen sucres for burying the infant in Punta Venado and was advised by the /ʔaʔi/ to marry a widower. The young man claimed that the woman was to blame for the illicit relationship and that she was always after him and wanting to marry him. After the official punishment had been meted out, Augustín beat his mother. Several months later the youth ran away to the Río Esmeraldas area with this widow. They remained there for two years. After two or three children were born to them, they returned to the Río Cayapas. This couple was permitted to live together, but later the husband and all of the children died within a year.

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The Cayapa maintain that no supernatural sanctions

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were involved in the desires of the man and his children. Jesus, they say, never punishes people while they are living, and the fact of having been punished on earth by a tribal official in no way mitigates one's punishment after death. The young man may have been killed by witchcraft, but the Cayapa aver that this is not supernatural punishment, and he probably "just died for whatever reason."

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When asked why widows could only marry widowers, the answer was invariably, "Jesus ordered it that way." According to my informant, the couple was permitted to return to the community because of the children. They were still considered to be living in sin, but they had been punished, and now the matter was in the hands of Jesus. The /ʔiwʔi/ had applied the law as far as he could. He could do no more. In a way very similar to the cases of polygyny, to be discussed in the next chapter, an innovation had been introduced into the community--a new behavioral pattern was available for emulation! For the Cayapa, the realm of sin seems to be the most fruitful for cultural change.

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Divorce. Divorce is theoretically prohibited